

ANNOTATIONS

BY

SAM. JOHNSON & GEO. STEEVENS,

AND

THE VARIOUS COMMENTATORS,

UPON

KING HENRY VI.

PART III.

WRITTEN BY

WILL. SHAKSPERE.

—SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.

VIRG.

LONDON:

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MDCCLXXII.



ANNOTATIONS
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PART III.

THIRD PART—] First printed under the title of
*The true Tragedy of Richard Duke of York, and the
good King Henry the Sixth ; or, The Second Part of the
Contention between York and Lancaster, 1600. POPE.*

ACT I.

Line 1. *I WONDER, how the king—*] This play is
only divided from the former for the convenience of
exhibition ; for the series of action is continued with-
out interruption ; nor are any two scenes of any play

A ij

more

more closely connected than the first scene of this play with the last of the former. JOHNSON.

9. *Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.*] See Dr. Percy's note, *Henry VI.* Part III. act v. l. 244. REED.

47. — *if Warwick shake his bells.*] The allusion is to falconry. The hawks had sometimes little bells hung upon them, perhaps to dare the birds; that is, to fright them from rising. JOHNSON.

79. — *as the kingdom is.*] Thus the quarto 1600, and that without date. The folio erroneously reads:

— *as the earldom was.* STEEVENS.

108. *I am the son of Henry the Fifth,*] The military reputation of Henry the Fifth is the sole support of his son. The name of Henry the Fifth dispersed the followers of Cade. JOHNSON.

145. *Think you, 'twere prejudicial to the crown?*] i. e. to the prerogative of the crown. STEEVENS.

162. *May that ground gape, and swallow me alive.*] So in Phaer's translation of the 4th Æneid:

“ But rather would I wish the ground to gape for me below.” STEEVENS.

191. *They seek revenge,*—] They go away, not because they doubt the justice of this determination, but because they have been conquered, and seek to be revenged. They are not influenced by principle, but passion. JOHNSON.

239. *What is it, but to make the sepulchre,*] The queen's reproach is founded on a position long received among politicians, that the loss of a king's power is soon followed by loss of life. JOHNSON.

270. *Whose haughty spirit, winged with desire,
Will coast my crown, and, like an empty eagle,
Tire on the flesh——]* The word *coast* sig-

nifies to hover over any thing. WARBURTON.

The word which Dr. Warburton would introduce, appears to violate the metaphor, nor is *to coast* used as a term of falconry in any of the books professedly written on that subject. *To coast* is a sea-faring expression, and means to keep along shore. We may, however, maintain the integrity of the figure, by inserting the word *cote*, which is used in *Hamlet*, and in a sense convenient enough on this occasion :

“ We *coted* them on the way.”

To *cote* is to come up with, to overtake.

So, in *The Return from Parnassus*, a comedy, 1606 :

“ ——marry, we presently *coted* and outstript them.”

Yet I am not certain, that *to coast* is a sea-faring expression. It is used in the following passage to denote speed :

“ And all in haste she *coasteth* to the cry.”

Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis*.

Again, in the *Loyal Subject*, by Beaumont and Fletcher:

“ Take you those horse, and *coast* them.”

Again, in *The Maid of the Mill*, by the same authors, two gentlemen are entering, and a lady asks :

“ ——who are those that *coast* us ?”

Mr. Tollet observes, that Dr. Warburton's interpretation may be right, as Holinshed often uses the

verb to *coast*, i. e. to hover, or range about any thing. "William Douglas still *coasted* the Englishmen, doing them what damage he might." So, again, p. 387, and 404, and in other writers.

To *tire* is to *peck*. So, in Decker's *Match me in London*, 1631 :

"——the vulture *tires*

"Upon the eagle's heart."

STEEVENS.

Dr. Warburton's alteration aims at a distinction without a difference, both *cost* and *coast* being ultimately derivations of the same original. HENLEY.

273. —*those three lords*—] That is, of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Clifford, who had left him in disgust. JOHNSON.

280. —*sons, and brother*,—] I believe we should read *cousin* instead of *brother*, unless *brother* be used by Shakspeare as a term expressive of endearments, or because they embarked, like brothers, in one cause. Montague was only cousin to York, and in the quarto he is so called. Shakspeare uses the expression, *Brother of the war*, in *King Lear*. STEEVENS.

It should be *sons and brothers*; my *sons*, and *brothers* to each other. JOHNSON.

——*sons and brother*. This is right. In the two succeeding pages York calls Montague *brother*. This may be in respect to their being *brothers of the war*, as Mr. Steevens observes, or of the same council as in *K. Henry VIII.* who says to Cranmer, "You are a *brother* of us." Montague was brother to Warwick;

Warwick's

Warwick's daughter was married to a son of York : therefore York and Montague were brothers. But as this alliance did not take place during the life of York, I embrace Mr. Steevens's interpretation, rather than suppose that Shakspeare made a mistake about the time of the marriage.

TOLLET.

Dr. Johnson's emendation is confirmed by the quarto, where York addresses *only* his sons :

How now *sonnes* ! what jarre among yourselves !

MALONE.

282. *No quarrel, but a slight contention.*] Thus the players, first, in their edition ; who did not understand, I presume, the force of the epithet in the old quarto, which I have restored—*sweet contention*, i. e. the argument of their dispute was on a grateful topick ; the question of their father's immediate right to the crown.

THEOBALD.

298. *An oath is of no moment,—*] The obligation of an oath is here eluded by very despicable sophistry. A lawful magistrate alone has the power to exact an oath, but the oath derives no part of its force from the magistrate. The plea against the obligation of an oath obliging to maintain an usurper, taken from the unlawfulness of the oath itself in the foregoing play, was rational and just.

JOHNSON.

319. In former editions :

Witty, courteous, liberal, full of spirit.] *Witty*, anciently signified, of sound judgment. The poet calls Buckingham, “ the deep-revolving, *witty* Buckingham.”

STEEVENS.

324. *Enter a Messenger.*] Thus the quartos; the folio reads, *Enter Gabriel*. STEEVENS.

Instead of *Gabriel*, *Messenger* should be prefixed to this speech. *Gabriel* was the actor who played this inconsiderable part. He is mentioned by Haywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612. MALONE.

325. *The queen with all, &c.*] I know not whether the author intended any moral instruction; but he that reads this has a striking admonition against that precipitancy by which men often use unlawful means to do that which a little delay would put honestly in their power. Had York staid but a few moments, he had saved his cause from the stain of perjury. JOHNSON.

352. ——— *his Tutor.*] A priest called Sir Robert Aspall, *Hall*. Hen. VI. fo. 99. REMARKS.

363. *So looks the pent-up lion—*] That is, the lion that hath been long confined without food, and is let out to devour a man condemned. JOHNSON.

391. Rutland is under a mistake. The battle of St. Alban's, in which old Clifford was slain, happened in 1455; that of Wakefield in 1460. He appears to have been at this time above seventeen years old.

REMARKS.

400. This line is in Ovid's *Epistle from Phillis to Demophoon*. I find the same quotation in, *Have with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriel Hervey's Hunt is up, &c.* 1596. STEEVENS.

406. *My uncles both are slain in rescuing me;*] These were

were two bastard uncles by the mother's side, Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer. See Grafton's *Chronicle*. PERCY.

423. *We bodg'd again;—*] I find *bodgery* used by Nashe in his *Apologie of Pierce Penniless*, 1593, for *botchery*:

“Do you know your own misbegotten *bodgery*?” To *bodge* might therefore mean (as to *botch* does now) to do a thing imperfectly and awkwardly; and thence to *fail* or *miscarry* in an attempt.

Since I wrote the above, I met with the following passage in Nashe's Preface to Greene's *Arcadia*, which confirms my conjecture:

“——to *bodge* up a blank verse with *ifs* and *ands*.” In Davies's *Scourge of Folly*, printed about 1611, the word *bodge* is used for a *stop* or *hitch*, a sense which will suit here:

“Here is a *bodge*; bots on't; farewell my pen!

“My muse is dull'd; another time will serve.”

MALONE.

438. ——*noon-tide* prick.] Or, noon-tide point on the dial. JOHNSON.

463. *It is war's prize*——] All 'vantages are in war lawful *prize*; that is, may be lawfully taken and used. JOHNSON.

472. *That raught*——] *i. e.* That *reach'd*. The ancient preterite and participle passive of *reach*.

STEEVENS.

That

That raught at mountain,——] The undated quarto reads :

That *aim'd* at mountains.

MALONE.

483. *——this napkin——]* A napkin is a handkerchief.

JOHNSON.

499. *Putting a Paper Crown on his head.]* Shakspeare has on this occasion deviated from history. The paper crown was not placed on the duke of York's head 'till after it had been cut off. Rutland likewise was not killed by Clifford 'till after his father's death.

STEEVENS.

The ingenious commentator is most certainly mistaken. Shakspeare, so far from having deviated from history, has followed it with the utmost precision. *Whethamstede* expressly tells us, that the Lancastrians, in direct breach of a mutual agreement, and before the day appointed for the battle, fell suddenly upon the Duke's army, and took him and the earl of Salisbury prisoners; treating both, but especially the Duke, in the most shameful manner. *Nam, says he, statuantes eum super unum parvum formicarium colliculum, et quoddam sertum vile, ex palustri gramine confectum, imponentes, per modum coronæ, super caput suum, non aliter quam Judæi, coram Domino incurvaverunt genua sua coram ipso, dicentes illusoriè: Ave rex, sine regimine; ave rex, absque hereditate: Ave dux et princeps, absque omni populo penitus et possessione. Et his una cum aliis variis, in eum probrosè opprobriosèque dictis, coëgerunt ipsum demum per capitis abscisionem clameum relinquere*

quere suæ justiciæ vindicationis, p. 489. Not a single circumstance is omitted, or varied in the scene. It is not, however, imagined that Shakspeare had ever consulted Whethamstede: he found the same story no doubt in some old black letter chronicle, which it has not been the writer's fortune to meet with, or he might possibly have it from popular tradition.

REMARKS.

519. *Upon their woes,—*] So the folio. The quarto reads *Upon his woes*.

STEEVENS.

536. *'Tis government, that makes them seem divine ;]* *Government*, in the language of that time, signified evenness of temper, and decency of manners. JOHNSON.

547. *—thy wish :]* So, the folio. The quarto reads *thy will*.

STEEVENS.

549. *For raging wind blows up incessant showers,]* Thus the folio. The quartos read :

For raging winds blow up a storm of tears.

STEEVENS.

552. *And every drop cries vengeance for his death—]* So the folio. The quarto thus :

And every drop begs vengeance as it falls

On thee, &c.

STEEVENS.

557. *—the racking clouds,]* See notes on the *Tempest*, act IV. line 170.

STEEVENS.

Rack is used as a verb by Beaumont and Fletcher:

"Stay, clouds, ye rack too fast :"—HENLEY.

559. *—of Hyrcania.]* So the folio. The quarto reads *of Arcadia*.

STEEVENS.

574. *I should not for my life but weep with him,
To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul.]* So the folio. The quartos as follows:

I could not choose but weep with him, to see

How inward anger gripes his heart. STEEVENS.

580. *And here's to right our gentle-hearted king.]* Thus the folio. The quarto thus:

And there's to right our gentle-harted kind.

Of this kind of variations there are many, but it is useless labour to enumerate them all. STEEVENS.

ACT II.

Line 8. *How fares our brother?—*] This scene, in the old quartos, begins thus:

After this dangerous fight and hapless war,

How doth my noble brother Richard fare?

Had the author taken the trouble to revise his play, he hardly would have begun the First Act and the Second with almost the same exclamation, express'd in almost the same words. Warwick opens the scene with——

“ I wonder, how the king escap'd our hands.”

STEEVENS.

20. *Methinks, 'tis prize enough to be his son.]*—The old quartos

quarto reads *pride*, which is right, for *ambition*, i. e.
We need not aim at any higher glory than this.

WARBURTON.

I believe *prize* is the right word. Richard's sense
is, though we have missed the *prize* for which we
fought, we have yet an honour left that may content
us.

JOHNSON.

Prize, I believe, here means *privilege*. So, in the
former act :

“ It is war's *prize* to take all 'vantages ?”

MALONE.

22. *And takes her farewel of the glorious sun!*] Au-
rora takes for a time her farewel of the sun, when she
dismisses him to his diurnal course.

JOHNSON.

36. — *blazing by our meeds,*] *Meed* here means
merit.

So in the 4th act the king says :

“ My *meed* hath got me fame.”

And in *Timon* the word is used in the same sense :

“ No *meed* but he repays

“ Sevenfold above itself.” MONCK MASON.

48. *Oh, speak no more!*—] The generous ten-
derness of Edward, and the savage fortitude of
Richard, are well distinguished by their different
reception of their father's death.

JOHNSON.

— *for I have heard too much.*] So the folio. The
quartos thus :

— *for I can hear no more.*

Rich. Tell on thy tale, &c.

STEEVENS.

B

90.

90. *His dukedom and his chair with me is left.*] So the folio. The quarto thus :

His chair, and dukedom, that remains for me:

STEEVENS.

92. *Shew thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun .:]* So, in Spenser's *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty* :

“ —like the native brood of eagle's kind,

“ On that bright sun of glory fix thine eyes.”

Again, in *Solyman and Perseda*, 1599 :

“ As air-bred eagles, if they once perceive

“ That any of their brood but close their sight,

“ When they should gaze against the glorious sun,

“ They straitway seize upon him with their talons,

“ That on the earth it may untimely die,

“ For looking but askew at Heav'n's bright eye.”

STEEVENS.

103. *Is by the stern lord Clifford done to death.*] *Done to death for killed*, was a common expression long before Shakspeare's time. Thus Chaucer :

“ And seide, that if ye *done* us both to *dien*.”

GREY.

Spenser mentions a plague,

“ Which many *did to dye*.”

JOHNSON.

So, in the *Battle of Alcazar*, 1594 :

“ We understand that he was *done to death*.”

Again, *ibid.*

“ —*done to death* with many a mortal wound.”

Again

Again, in *Orlando Furioso*, 1599 :

“ I am the man that *did* the slave to death.”

STEEVENS.

113. *And very well, &c.*] This line I have restored from the old quartos.

STEEVENS.

130. *like the night-owl's lazy flight,*] Warwick compares the languid blows of his soldiers, to the lazy strokes which the wings of the owl give to the air in its flight, which is remarkably slow.

MONCK MASON.

143. *Edw.* ——when came *George* from *Burgundy* to *England*?

War. ——he was lately sent

From your kind aunt, dutchess of Burgundy,

With aid of Soldiers to this needful war.] This circumstance is not warranted by history. Clarence and Gloucester (as they were afterwards created) were sent into Flanders immediately after the battle of Wakefield, and did not return until their brother Edward got possession of the crown. Besides, Clarence was not now more than twelve years old.

Isabel, dutchess of Burgundy, whom Shakspeare calls the duke's aunt, was daughter of John I. king of Portugal, by Philippa of Lancaster, eldest daughter of John of Gaunt. They were, therefore, no more than third cousins.

REMARKS.

169. ——haught *Northumberland,*] So Grafton in his *Chronicle* says, p. 417 : “ —— the lord Henry Percy, whom the Scottes for his *haut* and valiant courage called Sir Henry Hotspurre.”

PERCY.

B ij

The

The word is common to many writers. So, in Marlow's *K. Edward II.* 1622:

"This *haught* resolve becomes your majesty."

Again, in Kyd's *Cornelia*, 1595:

"Pompey, that second Mars, whose *haught* renowned," &c.

Again, in Lilly's *Woman in the Moon*, 1597:

"Thy mind as *haught* as Jupiter's high thoughts."

[STEEVENS.

171. ———the easy melting king like wax] So, again in this play of the *Lady Gray*:

"As red as fire; nay, then her *wax* must melt."

JOHNSON.

209. *Why then it sorts,*——] Why then things are as they should be.

JOHNSON.

227. ———in *safeguard*——] Thus the folio. The quartos read *in rescue*.

STEEVENS.

234. ———unloving *father*.] The quartos read *unnatural father*.

STEEVENS.

257. *Whose father, &c.*] Alluding to a common proverb:

"*Happy the child whose father went to the devil.*"

JOHNSON.

262. *Than in possession any jot of pleasure.*——] Thus the folio. The quarto thus:

Than may the present profit countervail. STEEVENS.

277. ———thirty thousand——] The quarto reads *fifty thousand*.

STEEVENS.

281. *Darraign*——] That is, *Range* your host, put your host in order.

JOHNSON.

Chaucer

Chaucer, Skelton, and Spenser, use this word.

So, in *Guy Earl of Warwick, a Tragical History*, 1661:

“ Darraign our battles, and begin the fight.”

The quartos read—*Prepare your battles, &c.*

STEEVENS.

282. *I would, your highness would depart the field ;*

The queen, &c.] This superstitious belief, relative to the fortunes of our unhappy prince, is yet more circumstantially introduced by Drayton in *The Miseries of Queen Margaret*:

“ Some think that *Warwick* had not lost the day,

“ But that the king into the field he brought ;

“ For with the worse that side went still away

“ Which had king *Henry* with them when they fought ;

“ Upon his birth so sad a curse they lay,

“ As that he never prospered in aught.

“ The queen wan two, among the loss of many,

“ Her husband absent ; present never any.”

STEEVENS.

298. *Since when, &c.*] The quartos give the remainder of this speech to Clarence, and read :

To blot our brother out, &c.

STEEVENS.

313. *Your legs did better service than your hands.*]

An allusion to the proverb,

“ One pair of heels is worth two pair of hands.”

STEEVENS

333. ——— *I am resolv'd.*] It is my firm persuasion;
I am no longer in doubt. JOHNSON.

345. ——— *mis-shapen, stigmatick,*] “A *stigmatick*, says J. Bullokar in his *English Expositor*, 1616,
“is a notorious lewd fellow, which hath been burnt
with a hot iron, or beareth other marks about him as
a token of his punishment.”

The word is likewise used in Drayton's epistle from
Q. Margaret, to W. de la Poole:

“That foul, ill favour'd, crook-back'd *stigmatic*.”

Again, in Drayton's epistle from *K. John to Matilda*:

“These for the crook'd, the halt, the *stigmatic*.”

STEEVENS.

347. ——— *lizards' dreadful stings.*] Thus the fo-
lio. The quartos have this variation:

——— *or lizards' fainting looks.*

This is the second time that Shakspeare has armed the
lizard (which in reality has no such defence) with a
sting; but great powers seem to have been imputed
to its looks. So, in *Noah's Flood*, by Drayton:

“The *lizard* shuts up his *sharp-sighted eyes*,

“Amongst the serpents, and there sadly lies.”

STEEVENS.

348. ——— *gilt,*] *Gilt* is a superficial covering of
gold.

STEEVENS.

352. *To let thy tongue detect——*] To shew thy
meanness of birth by the indecency of language with
which thou railest at my deformity. JOHNSON.

352.

352. *To let thy tongue detect thy base-born heart ?*] So the folio. The quartos :

To parley thus with England's lawful heirs.

STEEVENS.

353. *A wisp of straw*—] I believe that a *wisp* signified some instrument of correction used in the time of Shakspeare. The following instance seems to favour the supposition. See a *Woman never Vexed*, a comedy, by Rowley, 1632:

“Nay worse;—I'll stain thy ruff; nay, worse than that,

“I'll do thus— [Holds up a wisp.

“—dost wisp me, thou tatterdemallion?”

Again in Marston's *Dutch Courtezan*, 1604:

“Thou little more than a dwarf, and something less than a woman!

“Cris. *A wispe! a wispe! a wispe!*”

Barrett in his *Alvearie, or Quadruple Dictionary*, 1580, interprets the word *wispe* by *peniculus* or *σπογγος*, which signify any thing to wipe or cleanse with; a cook's linen apron, &c. Pewter is still scoured by a *wispe of straw*, or *hay*. Perhaps Edward means one of these *wisps*, as the denotement of a menial servant. Barrett adds, that like a *wase* it signifies “a wreath to be laied under the vessel that is borne upon the head, as women use.” If this be its true sense, the prince may think that such a *wisp* would better become the head of Margaret, than a *crown*.

It appears, however, from the following passage in Thomas Drant's translation of the seventh satire of

Horace,

Horace, 1567, that a *wispe* was the punishment of a scold :

“ So perfyte and exacte a scoulde that women mighte geve place

“ Whose tattling tongues had won a *wispe*,” &c.

STEEVENS.

See also, Nashe's *Apology of Pierce Pennilesse*, 1593: “ Why thou errant butter-whore, thou cotquean and scrattop of *scolds*, wilt thou never leave afflicting a dead carcassee? continually read the rhetorick lecture of Ramme-Alley? a *wispe*, a *wispe*, you kitchin stuffe wrangler.” In *A Warning for Faire Women*, a tragedy, 1599, we meet the same allusion:

“ Thy jests are like a *wispe* unto a scold.”

Again. in *A Dialogue between John and Jone striving who shall wear the Breeches*—PLEASURES OF POETRY, bl. l. no date :

“ Good gentle Jone, with-holde thy hands,

“ This once let me entreat thee,

“ And make me promise, never more

“ That thou shalt mind to beat me ;

“ For fear thou wear the *wispe*, good wife,

“ And make our neighbour's ride——”

MALONI.

354. To make this shameless callat know herself.—] Shaksper uses the word *callat* likewise in *The Winter's Tale*, act II. sc. iii.

“ Leonatus of Paulina. A *callat*——

“ Of boundless tongue, who late hath beat

“ Her husband, and now beats me.”

Callat,

Callat, a lewd woman, a drab, perhaps so called from the French *calote*, which was a sort of head-dress worn by country girls, See *Glossary to Urry's Chaucer*.

"A cold old knave cuckolde himself winyng,

"And of *calot* of lewd demenyng."

Chaucer's *Remedy of Love*, ver. 307.

So, Skelton, in his *Elinour Rymming*, Works, p. 133.

"Then Elinour said, ye *calettes*,

"I shall break your palettes."

And again, p. 136.

"She was a cumlye-*callet*."

Gammar. "Vengeance on those *callets*, whose conscience is so large." *Gammar Gurton's Needle*, act III. sc. iii.

"A cart for a *callat*" Id. ib.

"Why the *callet* you told me of here,

"I have tane disguis'd."

Ben Jonson's Volpone, act IV. sc. iii.

GREY.

368. ———*hath* broach'd this tumult,——] The quarto reads, "*hath mov'd* this," &c. STEEVENS.

372. ———*we saw our sun-shine made thy spring,*

And that thy summer bred us no increase,]

When we saw that by favouring thee we made thee grow in fortune, but that we received no advantage from thy fortune flourishing by our favour, we then resolved to destroy thee, and determine to try some other means, though our first efforts have failed.

JOHNSON.

The quartos read :

But

But when we saw our summer brought thee
'gain,

And that the harvest brought us no increase.

STEEVENS.

387. A field of battle at *Ferrybridge* in *Yorkshire*.] We should read near *Towton*. Shakspeare has here, perhaps, intentionally thrown three different actions into one. The Lord Fitzwater being stationed by king Edward, to defend the pass of Ferrybridge, was assaulted by the Lord Clifford, and immediately slain, "and with hym," says Hall, "the bastard of Salisbury, brother to the earl of Warwycke, a valeaunt yong gentleman, and of great audicitie. When the earl of Warwycke," adds he, "was informed of this fate, he lyke a man desperated, mounted on his hackeney, and came blowing to kyng Edward, saying: Sir, I praye God have mercy of their soules, which in the beginning of your enterprise hath lost their lyfes, and because I se no succors of the world, I remit the vengeaunce and punishment to God our Creator and Redeemer; and with that lighted doune, and slewe his horse with his swoorde, saying: let them flye that wyl, for surely I will tary with him that will tary with me, and kissed the cross of his swoarde. Clifford, in his retreat, was beset with a party of Yorkists, when, eyther, says the historian, for heat or payne, putting off his gorget sodainly, with an arrowe (as some say) without an hedde [he] was stricken into the throte, and incontinent rendered his spirite, and the erle of Westmerlandes

"Westmerlandes brother, and almost all his company were thare slayn, at a place called Dinting Dale, not farr from Towton." In the afternoon of the next day (Palm Sunday eve, 1461) on a plain field between Towton and Saxton, joined the main battles which continued engaged that night, and the greater part of the following day: upwards of 30,000 men, all English (including many of the nobility and the flower of the gentry, especially of the northern parts), being slain on both sides. This battle, says Carte, "decided the fate of the house of Lancaster, overturning in one day an usurpation strengthened by sixty-two years continuance, and established Edward on the throne of England." REMARKS.

An authentick copy of king Edward's account of this battle, together with a list of the noblemen and knights who were slain in it, may be seen in Mr. Fenn's Collection of the *Paston Letters*. Vol. I. p. 216, &c.

HENLEY.

Forspent *with toil*—] Thus the folio. The quartos read:

Sore spent, &c.]

STEEVENS.

392. *Smile, gentle heaven!* &c.] Thus the folio.

Instead of these lines, the quartos give the following:

Smile, gentle heavens, or strike, ungentle death,

That we may die unless we gain the day!

What fatal star malignant frowns from heaven

Upon the harmless line of York's true house?

STEEVENS.

395. *Our hap is loss, &c.*] Thus the folio. The quartos thus :

Come, brother, come, let's to the field again,
For yet there's hope enough to win the day :
Then let us back to cheer our fainting troops,
Lest they retire now we have left the field.

War. How now, my lords ? what hap ? what
hope of good ? STEEVENS.

Our hap is loss, our hope but sad despair ;] Milton seems to have copied this line :

" ——— Thus repuls'd, *our final hope*

" *Is flat despair.*"

MALONE.

401. *Thy brother's blood the thirsty earth hath drunk,*]

This passage, from the variation of the copies, gave me no little perplexity. The old quarto applies this description to the death of Salisbury, Warwick's father. But this was a notorious deviation from the truth of history. For the earl of Salisbury in the battle at Wakefield, wherein Richard duke of York lost his life, was taken prisoner, beheaded at Pomfret, and his head, together with the duke of York's, fixed over York gates. Then the only brother of Warwick, introduced in this play, is the marquess of Montacute (or Montague, as he is called by our author) : but he does not die till ten years after, in the battle at Barnet ; where Warwick likewise was killed. The truth is, the brother here mentioned is no person in the drama, and his death is only an incidental piece of history. Consulting the Chronicles, upon this

action

action at Ferrybridge, I find him to have been a natural son of Salisbury (in that respect a brother to Warwick), and esteemed a valiant young gentleman.

THEOBALD.

401. *Thy brother's blood, &c.*] Instead of this speech, which is printed, like almost all the rest of the play, from the folio, the quartos give the following :

Thy noble father in the thickest throngs
Cry'd still for Warwick, his thrice valiant son ;
Until with thousand swords he was beset,
And, many wounds made in his aged breast.
And as he tottering sat upon his steed,
He waft his hand to me, and cried aloud,
Richard, commend me to my valiant son :
And still he cried, Warwick, revenge my death !
And with these words he tumbled off his horse ;
And so the noble Salisbury gave up the ghost.

STEEVENS.

410. *I'll kill my horse, &c.*] So, in the *Miseries of Queen Margaret*, by Drayton :

“ Resolv'd to win, or bid the world adieu :

“ Which spoke, the earl his sprightly courser
slew.”

STEEVENS.

420. *And, in this vow, do chain my soul to thine.—*]

Thus the folio. The quarto as follows :

And in *that* vow now join my soul to *thee*.

STEEVENS.

442. *Fore-slow no longer,—*]

To *fore-slow* is to be dilatory, to loiter.

C

Again,

Again, in Marlow's *Edward II.* 1612 :

" *Foreslow* no time ; sweet Lancaster, let's march."

Again, in *Promos and Cassandra*, 1578 :

" Good knight, for time do not my suit *fore-slow*." STEEVENS.

443. *Now, Clifford, I have singled thee alone, &c.*]

Thus the folio. The quarto thus :

Now, Clifford, for York and young Rutland's death,

This thirsty sword, that longs to drink thy blood,

Shall lop thy limbs, and slice thy cursed heart,
For to revenge the murders thou hast made.

STEEVENS.

456. *This battle fare's like to the morning's war, &c.*]

Instead of this interesting speech, the quartos exhibit only the following :

Oh gracious God of heaven, look down on us,

And set some ends to these incessant griefs !

How like a mastless ship upon the seas,

This woeful battle doth continue still,

Now leaning this way, now to that side driven,

And none doth know to whom the day will fall.

Oh, would my death might stay these *civil** jars!

Would I had never reign'd nor ne'er been king!

Margaret and Clifford chide me from the field,

Swearing they had best success when I was thence.

Would God that I were dead, so all were well ;

Or,

* The quarto 1600 reads—*cruel* jars.

Or, would my crown suffice, I were content
To yield it them, and live a private life!

The leading thought in both these soliloquies is borrowed from Holinshed, p. 665:—"This deadly conflict continued ten hours in doubtful state of victorie, uncertainlie heaving and setting on both sides," &c.

STEEVENS.

476. —*methinks it were a happy life.*] This speech is mournful and soft, exquisitely suited to the character of the king, and makes a pleasing interchange, by affording, amidst the tumult and horror of the battle, an unexpected glimpse of rural innocence, and pastoral tranquillity.

JOHNSON.

492. *So many months*—] The old copy reads *so many years*; and in the next line, *weeks* was supplied by Mr. Rowe.

STEEVENS.

510. These two horrible incidents are selected to shew the innumerable calamities of a civil war.

JOHNSON.

In the battle of Constantine and Maxentius, by Raphael, the second of these incidents is introduced on a similar occasion.

STEEVENS.

532. *And let our hearts, and eyes, like civil war,
Be blind with tears, and break o'ercharg'd with grief.*] The meaning is here inaccurately expressed. The king intends to say that the state of their hearts and eyes, shall be like that of the kingdom in a civil war, all shall be destroyed by power formed within themselves.

JOHNSON.

540. —*what showers arise,*

C ij

Blown

Blown with the windy tempest of my heart,] This image had occurred in the preceding act:

“ *For raging wind blows up incessant show’rs.*”

STEEVENS.

544. *What stratagems,—]* *Stratagem* seems to stand here only for an event of war, or may intend snares and surprises.

JOHNSON.

Stratagem is used by Shakspeare, not merely to express the events and surprizes of war.—The word means in this place some *dreadful event*, as it does also in the second part of *Henry IV.* where Northumberland says:

“ ———Every minute now

“ Should be the father of some *stratagem*.”

MONCK MASON.

574. *O boy! thy father gave thee life too soon, and hath bereft thee of thy life too late!]* The Oxford editor might have justified the change he made, from the authority of the quarto, according to which I would read; explaining the first line thus: *Thy father begot thee at too late a period of his life, and therefore thou wert not old and strong enough to cope with him.* The next line can want no explanation. Mr. Tollet thinks, that by *too late* is meant *too lately*, as in *K. Rich. III.* act iii.

“ *Too late* he died that might have kept that title.”

STEEVENS.

And hath bereft thee of thy life too late!] *Too late*, without doubt, means *too recently*, The same quaint expression is found in our author’s *Rape of Lucrece*:

“ O, quoth

“ O, quoth Lucretius, I did give that life,

“ Which she too early and *too late* hath spill’d.”

The present reading appears to be far the more eligible. Had the son been younger, he would have been precluded from the levy that brought him into the field ; and had the father recognized him before the mortal blow, it would not have been too late to have saved him from death.

HENLEY.

556. *Wither one rose, and let the other flourish ! &c.]*

Thus the folio. The quarto thus :

For if you strive, a thousand lives must perish.

STEEVENS.

562. *How will the country, &c.]* So the folio. The quarto thus :

How will the country now misdeem their king !

Oh, would my death their minds could satisfy !

To *mis-think* is to think ill, unfavourably. So, in the *Northern Lass* 1633 :

“ —and heaven pardon me what I *mis-thought* every hour of the night !”

STEEVENS.

573. *And so obsequious will thy father be.]* *Obsequious*, is here, careful of obsequies, or of funeral rites.

JOHNSON.

In the same sense it is used in *Hamlet* :

“ —to do *obsequious* sorrow.”

STEEVENS.

574. *Sad for the loss of thee,]* The old copy reads —*men* for the loss, &c. Mr. Rowe made the alteration, but I think we might read *man*.

STEEVENS.

575. *As Priam was for all—]* I having but one son,

C iij

will

will grieve as much for that one, as Priam who had many, could grieve for many. JOHNSON.

595. *Enter Clifford wounded.*] The quarto adds, *with an arrow in his neck.* In ridicule of this, Beaumont and Fletcher have introduced *Ralph*, the grocer's prentice, in the *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, with a *forked arrow through his head.* It appears, however, from Holinshed, p. 664, that this circumstance has some relation to the truth: "The lord Clifford, either for heat or paine, putting off his gorget suddenly, with an *arrow* (as some saie) without a head, was stricken into the *throate*, and immediately rendered his spirit."

STEEVENS.

600. —thy *tough commixture*—] Perhaps better, the *tough commixture.* JOHNSON.

The quartos read

that tough commixture melts. STEEVENS.

618. *No way to fly nor strength to hold our flight.*] The quartos read "*no strength to hold out flight.*" *i. e.* No way to fly, nor with strength sufficient left to sustain myself in flight, if there were. STEEVENS.

624. *I stabb'd your fathers' bosom; split my breast.*] So the folio. The quartos read:

I stabb'd your father's now come split my breast.

STEEVENS.

625. *Now breathe we, lords;*] Instead of this speech the quartos have the following:

Thus far our fortunes keep an upward course,
And we are grac'd with wreaths of victory.

Some troops pursue the bloody minded queen,

That

That now towards Berwick doth pass amain:—

But think you that Clifford is fled away with them?

STEEVENS.

634. Edw. *Whose soul, &c.*] I have distinguished these speeches according to the authority of the quarto. The folio gave all to Richard, except the last line and half.

STEEVENS.

637. ———*like life and death's departing.*] The quartos read, like life and death's *departure*.

STEEVENS.

There is no occasion for correction. “ ’Till death us *depart*” was the expression in the old *Marriage Service*.

FARMER.

662. ———*eager words.*] Sour words; words of asperity.

JOHNSON.

So, in *Hamlet*:

“ It is a nipping and an *eager* air.” STEEVENS.

691. *And then to Britany I'll cross the sea,*] Thus the folio. The quartos thus:

And afterwards I'll cross the seas to France.

STEEVENS.

701. ———*too ominous*] Alluding, perhaps, to the deaths of Thomas of Woodstock, and Humphrey, dukes of Gloster.

STEEVENS.

ACT III.

Line 1. *ENTER* Sinklo,] Dr. Grey observes from Hall and Holinshed, that the name of the person who took *K. Henry*, was *Cantlowe*. See Mr. Tyrwhitt's note on the first scene in the *Taming of a Shrew*.

STEEVENS.

Enter Sinklo and Humphrey—] In the quarto, these archers have no names. The direction is, "Enter two Keepers with both bowes and arrowes." This would sufficiently confirm Mr. Tyrwhitt's conjecture, if it wanted confirmation; but it does not, for *Sinklo* was certainly the name of a player. [See a note on the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew*.] *Humphrey* was, I suppose, another player. MALONE.

2. —*this laund—*] *Laund* means the same as *lawn*; a plain extended between woods.

So, in the play of *Orlando Furioso*, 1594:

"And that they trace the shady *lawnds*, &c."

Again:

"Tread she these *latonds*, kind *Flora* boasts her pride."

STEEVENS.

6. —*the noise of thy cross-bow*] The poet appears not to have forgot the secrets of his former profession.

So, in the *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, 1626:

"—Did I not hear a *bow* go off, and the buck bray?"

STEEVENS.

12. ———let's stay 'till he be past.] So the folio.

The quartos read :

——let's listen him a while. STEEVENS.

14. To greet mine own land with my wishful sight.]

So the folio. The quartos perhaps better thus :

And thus disguis'd to greet my native land.

STEEVENS.

17. Thy balm wash'd off,—] This is an image very frequent in the works of Shakspeare. So again, in this scene :

“ I was anointed king.”

It is common in these plays to find the same images, whether jocular or serious, frequently recurring.

JOHNSON.

23. This is the quondam king, &c.] Thus the folio.

The quarto thus :

Ay, marry, sir, here's a deer, his skin is a Keeper's fee. Sirrah stand close, for as I think, This is the king, king Edward hath depos'd.

STEEVENS.

24. —these sour adversities ;] The old copy reads —the sowre adversaries.

STEEVENS.

40. And Nero will——] Perhaps we might better read, A Nero will——.

STEEVENS.

49. Inferreth arguments of mighty strength ;] In the former act was the same line :

“ Inferring arguments of mighty force.” JOHNSON.

53. O Margaret, &c.] The piety of Henry scarce interests us more for his misfortunes, than this his constant

constant solicitude for the welfare of his deceitful queen.

STEEVENS.

56. — *less than I was born to :*] Thus the folio. The quartos thus :

— *for less I should not be* STEEVENS.

57. — *for less I should not be,*] Such is the reading of the folio. The quartos thus :

— *and more I cannot be.* STEEVENS.

60. *Why, so I am, in mind,*—] There seems to be an allusion to a line in an old song (quoted in *Every Man out of his Humour*) :

“ My mind to me a kingdom is.” MALONE.

— *and that's enough.*] So the folio. The quartos thus :

— *though not in shew.* STEEVENS.

70. *And we his subjects, &c.*] So the folio. The quartos thus :

And therefore we charge you in God's name, and
the king's,

To go along with us unto the officers.

STEEVENS.

98. *In God's name, lead ; &c.*] So the folio. Instead of this speech, the quartos have the following :

God's name be fulfill'd, your king's name be

Obey'd ; and be you kings ; command, and I'll
obey.

STEEVENS.

102. — *Sir John Grey,*—] Vid. Hall, *3d Year of Edw. IV.* folio 5. It was hitherto falsly printed *Richard*.

POPE.

111.

111. *Glo. Yea! is it so? &c.*] So the folio. The quartos read with the following variations:

Glo. I, Is the wind in that door?

Clar. I see the lady, &c.

STEEVENS.

116. *Widow, we will consider——*] This is a very lively and spritely dialogue; the reciprocation is quicker than is common in Shakspeare. JOHNSON.

184. *Her looks do argue her replete with modesty;*] So the folio. The quartos read:

Her looks are all replete with majesty.

STEEVENS.

198. *And yet too good to be your concubine.*] So in Warner's *Albion's England*, 1602, B. VII. chap. xxxiv.

“ His plea for love, my suit was land: I plie him, he plies me:

“ Too bace to be his queen, too good his concubine to be.”

Shakspeare, however, adopted the words from Stowe's *Chronicle*.

STEEVENS.

202. *Thou art a widow, &c.*] This is part of the king's reply to his mother in Stowe's *Chronicle*, “ That she is a widow, and hath already children; by God's blessed lady I am a batchelor, and have some too, and so each of us hath a prooffe that neither of us is like to be barrain:” &c.

STEEVENS.

249. *I'll make my heaven, &c.*] Thus the folio. The quartos alter and transpose the two lines as follows:

I will

I will go clad my body with gay ornaments,
And lull myself within a lady's lap. STEEVENS.

257. ———like a wither'd shrub ;] So the folio.
The quartos—like a wither'd shrimp. STEEVENS.

262. ———unlick'd bear-whelp,] It was an opinion which, in spite of its absurdity, prevailed long, that the bear brings forth only shapeless lumps of animated flesh, which she licks into the form of bears. It is now well known that the whelps of the bear are produced in the same state with those of other creatures.

JOHNSON.

267. ———to o'erbear such
As are of better person than myself,] Richard speaks here the language of nature. Whoever is stigmatized with deformity has a constant source of envy in his mind, and would counterbalance by some other superiority these advantages which he feels himself to want. Bacon remarks, that the deformed are commonly daring ; and it is almost proverbially observed that they are ill-natured. The truth is, that the deformed, like all other men, are displeased with inferiority, and endeavour to gain ground by good or bad means, as they are virtuous or corrupt. JOHNSON.

271. Until my mis-shap'd trunk that bears this head,
Be round impal'd, &c.] A transposition seems to be necessary :

“ Until my head, that this mis-shap'd trunk bears.”

Otherwise the trunk that bears the head is to be encircled with the crown, and not the head itself. STEEVENS.

272. ———*impaled*———] *i. e.* encircled. So, in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1630 :

“Tear off the crown that yet *tempales* his temples.”

STEEVENS.

294. *And set the murd'rous Machiavel to school.*] As this is an anachronism, and the old quarto reads,

And set the aspiring Catiline to school.

I don't know why it should not be preferred.

WARBURTON.

This is not the first proof I have met with, that Shakspeare, in his attempts to familiarize his ideas, has diminished their propriety.

STEEVENS.

297. *Fair queen of England, &c.*] Thus the folio. The quartos give the following:

Welcome, queen Margaret, to the court of France,

It fits not Lewis to sit while thou dost stand.

Sit by my side ; and here I vow to thee,

Thou shalt have aid to re-possess thy right,

And beat proud Edward from his usurped seat,

And place king Henry in his former rule.

STEEVENS.

300. *No, mighty king of France, &c.*] Instead of this speech, the quartos only supply the following :

Queen. I humbly thank your royal majesty,

And pray the God of heaven to bless thy state,

Great king of France, that thus regard'st our wrongs.

STEEVENS.

340. *Enter Warwick.*] This nobleman's embassy and commission, the insult he receives by the king's

D

hasty

hasty marriage, and his consequent resolution to avenge it, with the capture, imprisonment, and escape of the king, Shakspeare, it is true, found in Hall and Holinshed: but later, as well as earlier writers, of better authority, incline us to discredit the whole; and to refer the rupture between the king and his political creator to causes which have not reached posterity, or to that jealousy and ingratitude so natural, perhaps, to those who are under obligations too great to be discharged. *Beneficia*, says Tacitus, *eousque lata sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenero, pro gratia odium redditur.*

REMARKS.

354. —[Henry's hope is done.] So the folio. The quartos read:—*all our hope is done.* STEEVENS.

360. *Hath plac'd thy beauty's image, and thy virtue.* So the folio. The quarto thus:

Hath plac'd thy *glorious* image, and thy virtues.

STEEVENS.

381. —[to the wisest;] So the folio. The quartos,—to the *world.*

STEEVENS.

393. —[thirty and six years,] So the folio. The quartos, *thirty and eight years.*

STEEVENS.

402. *When nature brought him to the door of death.* Thus the folio. The quartos:

When *age* did call him to the door of death.

STEEVENS.

This passage unavoidably brings before the mind that admirable image of *old age* in Sackville's *Induction*:

"His withered fist still knocking at death's door," &c.

FARMER.

412. ———*that were not lawful chosen.*] Thus the folio. The quarto as follows:

———*that is not lawful heir.*

STEEVENS.

422. *That this his love was an external plant;*] The old quarto reads rightly *eternal*; alluding to the plants of Paradise.

WARBURTON.

425. *Exempt from envy, but not from disdain,*] I believe *envy* is in this place, as in many others, put for *malice* or *hatred*. His situation places him above these, though it cannot secure him from female disdain.

STEEVENS.

452. *You have a father able——*] This seems ironical. The poverty of Margaret's father is a very frequent topick of reproach.

JOHNSON.

455. *Proud setter-up and puller-down of kings!*] The queen here applies to Warwick, the very words that Edward, act II. line 423, addresses to the Deity.

MONGK MASON.

458. *Thy sly conveyance,——*] Conveyance is *juggling*, and thence is taken for artifice and fraud.

JOHNSON.

486. *Did I let pass the abuse done to my niece?*] Thus Holinshed, p. 668, "King Edward did attempt a thing once in the earles house, which was much against the earles honestie (whether he would have defloured his daughter or his *niece*, the certaintie was not for both their honours revealed) for surely such a thing was attempted by king Edward." STEEVENS.

488. *Did I put Henry from his native right?*] Thus the folio. The quartos read:

D ij

And

And thrust king Henry from his native home?

And (most ungrateful) doth he use me thus?

524. —go fear thy king—] That is, *fright* thy king. JOHNSON.

528. —to put armour on.] It was once no unusual thing for queens themselves to appear in armour at the head of their forces. The suit which Elizabeth wore when she rode through the lines at Tilbury to encourage the troops, on the approach of the Armada, may be still seen in the Tower. STEEVENS.

531. —thy reward;—] Here we are to suppose that, according to ancient custom, Warwick makes a present to the herald or messenger, whom the original copies call—a *Post*. STEEVENS.

534. —and bid false Edward battle:] This phrase is common to many of our ancient writers. So, in the *Misfortunes of King Arthur*, a dramattick performance, 1587:

“ —my flesh abhors

“ To bid the battle to my proper blood.”

STEEVENS.

541. In former copies :

I'll join my eldest daughter and my joy,

To him forthwith,——] Surely this is a mistake of the copyists. Hall, in the ninth year of K. Edward IV. says, “ Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne second daughter to the earl of Warwick.” And the duke of Clarence was in love with the *elder*, the lady Isabel; and in reality was married to her five years before prince Edward took the lady Anne to wife.

And

And, in *King Richard the Third*, Gloucester, who married this lady Anne when a widow, says :

“ For then I'll marry Warwick's *youngest* daughter.

“ What though I kill'd her husband and her father ?”

i. e. Prince Edward, and king Henry VI. her father-in-law. See likewise Holinshed, in his *Chronicle*, p. 671 and 674. THEOBALD.

543. *Yes, I agree, &c.*] Instead of this speech, the quarto has only the following :

With all my heart ; I like this match full well.

Love her, son Edward, she is fair and young ;

And give thy hand to Warwick, for his love.

STEEVENS.

ACT IV.

Line 7. **THIS** stage direction is sufficient proof that the play, as exhibited in the folio, was printed from a stage copy. I suppose these *eight* important personages were attendants. STEEVENS.

19. —are you offended too?] So the folio. The quartos,

— are you *against us* too ?

STEEVENS.

D iij

29.

29. *Cla. Then this is my opinion, &c.*] Instead of this and the following speech, the quartos read thus:

Cla. My lord, then this is my opinion ;
That Warwick, being dishonour'd in his embas-
sage,
Doth seek revenge, to quit his injuries.

Glo. And Lewis, in regard of his sister's wrongs,
Doth join with Warwick to supplant your state.

STEEVENS.

43. — *with the seas,*] This has been the advice of every man who in any age understood and favoured the interest of England.

JOHNSON.

51. *And yet, methinks, &c.*] The quartos vary from the folio, as follows :

Cla. Ay, and for such a thing too, the lord
Scales

Did well deserve at your hands, to have the
Daughter of the lord Bonfield ; and left your
Brothers to go seek elsewhere ; but in your mad-
ness

You bury brotherhood.

STEEVENS.

56. — *you would not have bestow'd the heir.*] It must be remembered, that till the Restoration, the heiresses of great estates were in the wardship of the king, who in their minority gave them up to plunder, and afterwards married them to his favourites. I know not when liberty gained more than by the abolition of the court of wards.

JOHNSON.

97. — *to my marriage?*] The quartos read :
— to these wrongs.

STEEVENS.

123. *You, that love me and Warwick, follow me.*] That Clarence should make this speech in the king's hearing is very improbable, yet I do not see how it can be palliated. The king never goes out, nor can Clarence be talking to a company apart, for he answers immediately to that which the Post says to the king.

JOHNSON.

You, that love me and Warwick, follow me.] When the earl of Essex attempted to raise rebellion in the city, with a design, as was supposed, to storm the queen's palace, he ran about the streets with his sword drawn, crying out, "They that love me, follow me."

STEEVENS.

130. *Pembroke, and Stafford, &c.*] The quartos give the passage thus :

Pembroke, go raise an army presently ;
Pitch up my tent ; for in the field this night
I mean to rest ; and, on the morrow morn,
I'll march to meet proud Warwick, ere he land
Those straggling troops which he hath got in
France, &c.

STEEVENS.

146. *Ay, in despite of all that shall withstand you.*] The quartos continue the speech thus :

Ay, my lord, in despite of all that shall withstand you ;
For why hath nature made me halt downright
But that I should be valiant, and stand to it :
For if I would, I cannot run away.

STEEVENS.

167. ——— *very easy.*] Here the quartos conclude this speech, adding only the following lines :

Then

Then cry king Henry with resolved minds,
And break we presently into his tent.

STEEVENS.

213. *And come now to create you duke of York.*] Might we not read with a slight alteration?

And come to new create you duke of York.

JOHNSON.

227. *Then for his mind, be Edward England's king.*] That is, in his mind; as far as his own mind goes.

MONCK MASON.

239. *What now remains, &c.*] Instead of this and the following speech, the quartos have,

Clar. What follows now? all hitherto goes well,
But we must dispatch some letters into France,
To tell the queen of our happy fortune;
And bid her come with speed to join with us.

War. Ay, that's the first thing we have to do,
And free king Henry from imprisonment,
And see him seated on the regal throne.

Come, let's away; and, having past these cares,
I'll post to York, and see how Edward fares.

244. *Enter Rivers, &c.*] Throughout this scene the quartos vary in almost every speech from the folio. The variations however are hardly such as to deserve notice.

STEEVENS.

336. — *few men rightly temper with the stars;*] I suppose the meaning is, that few men conform their temper to their destiny; which king Henry did, when finding himself unfortunate he gave the management of publick affairs to more prosperous hands. JOHNSON.

377. *This pretty lad—*] He was afterwards Henry VII. a man who put an end to the civil war of the two houses, but not otherwise remarkable for virtue. Shakspeare knew his trade. Henry VII. was grandfather to queen Elizabeth, and the king from whom James inherited.

JOHNSON.

Shakspeare only copied this particular, together with many others, from Holinshed:—"whom when the king had for a good while beheld, he said to such princes as were with him: Lo, surelie this is he, to whom both we and our adversaries, leaving the possession of all things, shall hereafter give roome and place," p. 678.

This pretty lad will prove our country's bliss.] Thus the folio. The quartos thus:

Thou, pretty boy, shalt prove this country's bliss.

STEEVENS.

410. *Now, brother Richard, &c.*] Instead of this, and the three following speeches, the quartos read only,

Enter Edward and Richard, with a troop of Hollanders.

Edw. Thus far from Belgia have we past the seas,

And march'd from Raunspur-haven unto York:
But soft! the gates are shut; I like not this.

Rich. Sound up the drum, and call them to the walls.

STEEVENS.

Lord] Mr. Monck Mason recommends the omission of this word.

REED.

440. *The good old man would fain that all were well,*]

The

The mayor is willing we should enter, so he may not be blamed.

JOHNSON.

473. *The bruit*] *i. e.* noise. So, in Preston's *Cambrises* :

“ ——— whose many acts do fly

“ By *bruit* of fame.” ———

STEEVENS.

This French word *bruit* was very early made a denizen of our language. Thus in the Bible ; “ behold the noise of the *bruit* is come.”—Jeremiah, x. 22.

WHALLEY.

486. *Thanks, brave Montgomery, &c.*] Instead of this speech, the quartos have only the following :

Edw. We thank you all : lord mayor, lead on the way,

For this night we will harbour here in York ;

And then as early as the morning sun

Lifts up his beams above this horizon,

We'll march to London to meet with Warwick,

And pull false Henry from the regal throne.

STEEVENS.

496. *Scene VIII.*] This scene is, perhaps, the worst contrived of any in these plays. Warwick has but just gone off the stage when Edward says,

“ And towards Coventry bend we our course,
Where peremptory Warwick now remains.”

MONCK MASON.

503. *Let's levy men, and beat him back again.*] This line expresses a spirit of war so unsuitable to the character of Henry, that I would give the first cold speech to the king, and the brisk answer to Warwick. This line

line is not in the old quarto; and when Henry said nothing, the first speech might be as properly given to Warwick as to any other. JOHNSON.

Every judicious reader must concur in this opinion.

STEEVENS.

535. — *my meed hath got me fame:*] *Meed* signifies merit, both as a verb and a substantive: that it is used as a verb, is clear from the following foolish couplet which I remember to have read:

“Deem if I meed,

“Dear madam, read.”

A Specimen of Verses that read the same Way backward and forward. Sir J. HRWKINS.

547. *Shout within. A Lancaster! A Lancaster!*] Surley the shouts that ushered king Edward should be A York! A York! I suppose the author did not write the marginal directions, and the players confounded the characters. JOHNSON.

ACT V.

Line 3. — *At Dunsmore,* —] The quartos read — at Daintry. STEEVENS.

6. — *at Daintry,* —] The quartos read — at Dunsmore. STEEVENS.

44. *The king was slily finger'd from the deck !]* The quartos read—*finely* finger'd.

Finely is subtilly. So, in Holinshed's reign of K. Henry VI. p. 640, "In his way he tooke by *fine* force, a tower," &c: Again, p. 649, "——and by *fine* force either to win their purpose, or end their lives in the same."

A pack of cards was anciently term'd *a deck of cards*. It is still, as I am informed, so called in Ireland. Thus, in *K. Edward I.* 1599 :

"——as it were, turned us, with duces and trays, out of the *deck*."

Again, in the *Two Maids of Moreclacke*, 1609 :

"I'll deal the cards and cut you from the *deck*."

Again, in *Selimus Emperor of the Turks*, 1638 :

"Well, if I chance but once to get the *deck*,

"To deal about and shuffle as I would."

STEEVENS.

60. *The gates are open, let us enter too.]* Thus the folio. The quartos read :

'The gates are open, see they enter in,
Let's follow them, and bid them battle in the streets.

Edw. No : so some other might set upon our backs,

We'll stay till all be enter'd, and then follow them.

STEEVENS.

73. Two of thy name, both *dukes of Somerset*,
Have sold their lives unto the house of York ;] The first of these noblemen was Edmund, slain at the battle

tle of Saint Alban's, 1455. See above. The second was Henry his son, beheaded after the battle of Hexham, 1463. The present duke Edmund, brother to Henry, was taken prisoner at Tewksbury 1471, and there beheaded, (*infra*, sc. 5.) his brother John losing his life in the same fight.

REMARKS.

77. ————*to bid his brother battle* ;] Here the quartos conclude this speech, and add the following :

Clar. Clarence, for Lancaster !

Edw. *Et tu Brute !* wilt thou stab Cæsar too !

A parly, sirra, to George of Clarence. STEEVENS.
80. *A parley is sounded, &c.*] This note of direction I restored from the old quarto. And, without it, it is impossible that any reader can guess at the meaning of this line of Clarence :

Look, here, I throw my infamy at thee. THEOBALD.

84. ————*to lime the stones*——] That is, To cement the stones. Lime makes mortar. JOHNSON.

86. ————*blunt*,——] Stupid, insensible of paternal fondness. JOHNSON.

106. ————*passing*——] Eminent, egregious ; traitorous beyond the common track of treason.

JOHNSON.

115. *For Warwick was a bug, that fear'd us all.*——]

Bug is a bugbear, a terrifick being. JOHNSON.

124. *Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge,*

Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle,

Under whose shade the ramping lion slept, &c.]

It has been observed to me, that the 31st chapter of the prophet *Ezekiel* suggested these images to Shak-

E

spere.

spere. "All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young." STEEVENS.

137. *Cedes coemptis saltibus, et domo, villâque.* HOR.

This mention of his *parks* and *manors* diminishes the pathetick effect of the foregoing lines. JOHNSON.

142. *Ah, Warwick, Warwick! &c.*] These two speeches stand thus in the quartos:

Oxf. Ah, Warwick, Warwick! chear up thyself,
and live;

For yet there's hope enough to win the day.

Our warlike queen with troops is come from
France,

And at Southampton landed hath her train;

And, might'st thou live, then would we never fly.

War. Why, then, I would not fly, nor have I
now;

But Hercules himself must yield to odds:

For many wounds receiv'd, and many more re-
paid,

Hath robb'd my strong-knit sinews of their
strength,

And spite of spites needs must I yield to death.

STEEVENS.

164. *Away, away, &c.*] Instead of this line, the quartos have the following:

Come, noble Somerset, let's take our horse,

And cause retreat be sounded through the camp:

That all our friends remaining yet alive

May be forewarn'd, and save themselves by flight.

That

That done, with them we'll post unto the queen,
And once more try our fortune in the field.

STEEVENS.

165. *Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course,
And we are grac'd with wreaths of victory.]*

Thus the folio. The quartos thus:

Thus still our fortune gives us victory;
And girt our temples with triumphant joys.
The big-bon'd traitor Warwick hath breath'd his
last.

STEEVENS.

172. ——— *have arriv'd onr coast,*] Milton uses the
same structure, B. II. *Par. Lost*:

“ ———ere he arrive

“ The happy isle.”

STEEVENS.

188. *Strike up the drum; cry—Courage! and away.]*

Thus the folio. The quartos have the following
couplet:

Come, let's go; for if we slack this bright sum-
mer's day,

Sharp winter's showers will mar our hope for hay.

STEEVENS.

227. *Methinks, a woman, &c.]* The preceding
speech is very imperfect in the quartos, and therefore
not worth insertion. In this of the prince there is,
however, much and important variation;

Prince. And if there be (as God forbid there
should)

'Mongst us a timorous or fearful man,

Let him depart before the battles join:

E ij

Lest

Lest he in time of need entice another,
 And so withdraw the soldiers' hearts from us.
 I will not stand aloof, and bid you fight,
 But with my sword press in the thickest throngs,
 And single Edward from his strongest guard,
 And hand to hand enforce him for to yield,
 Or leave my body, as witness of my thoughts.

STEEVENS.

255. K. Edw. *Brave followers, &c.*] This scene is ill contrived, in which the king and queen appear at once on the stage at the head of opposite armies. It had been easy to make one retire before the other entered.

JOHNSON.

262. *My tears gainsay*;] To *gainsay* is to unsay, to deny, to contradict. So, in a *Knack to know a Knave*, 1594.

“——seeing my father grants

“I will not *gainsay*.”

STEEVENS.

295. *Let Æsop, &c.*] The prince calls Richard, for his crookedness, Æsop; and the poet, following nature, makes Richard highly incensed at the reproach.

JOHNSON.

301. ——charm *your tongue*.] The quarto reads,
 ——*tame* your tongue.

The former is best. So, in Sir A. Gorges' Translation of *Lucan*, 1614:

“In hope that thy victorious arme

“Their dunghill crowing so will *charme*.”

STEEVENS.

308.

308. —*thou likeness of this railer here.*] Thou that resemblest thy railing mother. JOHNSON.

The old copies describe *Edward* as striking the first blow, and *Gloster* the next; and I believe rightly; for history informs us that *Edward* smote the prince with his gauntlet, on which the rest dispatch'd him. The words *sprawl'st thou?* seem evidently to belong to *Richard*; and I have therefore continued them to him on the authority of ancient editions, in preference to the allotment of modern innovation. STEEVENS.

320. *The Tower, man, the Tower!*] The quarto adds —*I'll root them out*; but, perhaps, injudiciously.

STEEVENS.

333. *You have no children, butchers!*—] The same sentiment is repeated by Macduff, in the tragedy of *Macbeth*; and this passage may serve as a comment on that.

BLACKSTONE.

337. —*you have rid this sweet young prince.*] The condition of this warlike queen would move compassion, could it be forgotten that she gave *York*, to wipe his eyes in his captivity, a handkerchief stained with his young child's blood. JOHNSON.

But surely it does move our compassion, though that be not forgotten. When we see any of our fellow-creatures involved in deep distress, from a just and tender cause, we attend only to their present sufferings, and not to their former crimes.

MONCK MASON.

346. *'Twas sin*—] She alludes to the desertion of Clarence. JOHNSON.

348. —where is that devil's butcher,

Richard?—] *Devil's butcher*, is a butcher set on by the devil. JOHNSON.

370. *What scene of death hath Roscius now to act?* *Roscius* was certainly put for Richard by some simple conceited player, who had heard of *Roscius* and of Rome; but did not know that he was an actor in comedy, not in tragedy. WARBURTON.

Shakspeare had occasion to compare Richard to some player about to represent a scene of murder, and took the first or only name of antiquity that occurred to him, without being very scrupulous about its propriety.

I know not, however, that it is proved, on classical authority, that *Roscius* was no actor in tragedy. Nash, in *Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil*, 1595, says, "Not *Roscius* nor *Æsop*, those admired tragedians, that had lived ever since before Christ was born, could ever performe more in action than famous Ned Allen."

Again, in *Acolastus his Afterwitte*, 1600:

"Through thee each murthering *Roscius* is appointed

"To act strange scenes of death on God's anointed."

Again, in *Certaine Satyres*, 1598:

"Was penn'd by *Roscio* the tragedian."

STEEVENS.

374. —misdoubteth every bush:—] To misdoubt is to suspect danger, to fear. So, in *Humour out of Breath*, a comedy by John Day, 1608:

"*Hip*. Doubt and misdoubt! what difference is there here?

"*Oñ*.

“OEt. Yes much: when men *misdoubt* ’tis said
they *fear*.”

STEEVENS.

375. —hapless male—] The word *male* is here
used in a very uncommon sense, not for the male of
the female, but for the male parent: the sweet bird is
evidently his son prince Edward. MONCK MASON.

378. —peevish fool—] As *peevishness* is the
quality of children, *peevish* seems to signify *childish*,
and by consequence *silly*. *Peevish* is explained *childish*
in a former note of Dr. Warburton. JOHNSON.

Shakspeare employs the word *peevish* in the same
sense in *Cymbeline*, where the reader will find many in-
stances of this use of it. STEEVENS.

398. Which now mistrust no parcel of my fear;] Who
suspect no part of what my fears presage. JOHNSON.

405. The night-crow cry’d, aboding luckless time;]
The quarto reads :

—aboding luckless tune.

If this be the true reading, it should be printed,

a boding luckless tune.

MALONE.

407. The raven rook’d her—] To *rook*, or rather
to *ruck*, is a north and west-country word, signifying
to *squat down*, or *lodge* on any thing.

So, in Chaucer’s *Knights Tale*, late edit. v. 1310:

“What is mankind more unto you yhold,

“Than is the shepe, that *rouketh* in the fold?”

Again, in the *Nonnes Preestes Tale*, *ibid.* v. 15232:

“O false morderour, *rucking* in thy den.”

Again, in Gower *De Confessione Amantis*, Lib. IV.
fol. 72.

“But

"But now thei *rucken* in her nest,

"And resten as hem liketh beste."

Again, in the Preface to Stanyhurst's Translation of *Virgil*, 1582:

"I cannot devine upon such bookes that happlye *rouke* in studentes mewes," &c.

Again, in the Translation of the IVth Book,

"Also on the turrets the skrich howle, &c.

"——doth *ruck*," &c.

Again, in Warner's *Albion's England*, 1609, B. VII. ch. 37.

"Have lazy wings, be ever lean, in sullen corners *ruck*." STEEVENS.

415. *And, if the rest be true which I have heard,
Thou cam'st——]* Had our editors had but

a grain of sagacity, or due diligence, there could have been no room for this absurd break, since they might have ventured to fill it up with certainty too. The old quarto would have led them part of the way:

Thou cam'st into the world——

And that the verse is to be completed in the manner I have given it, is incontestible; for unless we suppose king Henry actually reproaches him with this his preposterous birth, how can Richard in his very next soliloquy say,

Indeed, 'tis true that Henry told me of,

For I have often heard my mother say,

I came into the world with my legs forward.

I can easily see, that this blank was caused by the nicety of the players, to suppress an idecent idea. But, with

with submission, this was making but half a cure, unless they had expunged the repetition of it out of Richard's speech too.

THEOBALD.

439. *Let hell, &c.*] This line Dryden seems to have thought on in his *Oedipus*:

"It was thy crooked mind hunch'd out thy back,

"And wander'd in thy limbs." STEEVENS.

446. *But I will sort a pitchy day for thee:]* But I will choose out an hour whose gloom shall be as fatal to you. To sort is to select. So, in *The Spanish Tragedy*, 1605:

"——— for they had sorted leisure."

Again, in the *Lover's Melancholy*, 1629:

"We shall sort time to take more notice of him."

STEEVENS.

447. *For I will buz abroad such prophecies,*

That Edward shall be fearful of his life;] The quartos add a line between these,

——— *such prophecies,*

Under pretence of outward seeming ill,

That, &c.

STEEVENS.

484. *Thanks, noble Clarence; worthy brother, thanks.]*

This line has been given to king Edward: but I have, with the old quarto, restored it to the queen.

THEOBALD.

A LIST of the several battles, fought between the houses of York and Lancaster, may possibly be thought no incurious addition to the notes on this play.

1. The battle of St. Alban's, between Richard duke of York, and king Henry; in which the latter was defeated and made prisoner; 23d of May, 1455.

2. The battle of Bloreheath (in Shropshire), between Richard earl of Salisbury (for York), and James lord Audley (for Lancaster); in which the latter was defeated and slain; 23d September, 1459.

3. The battle of Northampton, between the earls of March and Warwick, and king Henry; in which the king was again defeated and made prisoner; 10th July, 1460.

4. The battle of Wakefield, between Richard duke of York, and queen Margaret; in which the former was defeated and slain; 30th of December, 1460.

5. The battle of Mortimer's Cross, between Edward duke of York, and Jasper earl of Pembroke; in which the later was defeated, 1460.

6. The second battle of St. Alban's, between queen Margaret and the earl of Warwick; in which the latter was defeated; Shrove Tuesday, 17th February, 1460.

7. The action of Ferrybridge, between the lord Clifford (for Lancaster), and the lord Fitzwater (for York); in which the latter was surprized and killed, Clifford, and

and almost all his party being slain in their retreat; 28th March, 1461.

8. The Battle of Towton, between king Edward and king Henry; in which the latter was defeated, and 36,000 men were slain; Palm Sunday-eve, 29th March, 1461.

9. The Battle of Hedgeley Moor (in Northumberland), between the lord Montacute (for York), and the lords Hungerford and Roos, Sir Ralph Percy and others (for Lancaster); in which the Lancastrians were defeated, and Percy slain; 25th April, 1463.

10. The battle of Hexham, between the lord Montacute and king Henry, in which the latter was defeated; 15th March, 1463.

11. The battle of Hedgecote (Banbury, or Cotswold), between the earl of Pembroke (for king Edward), and the lords Fitzhugh and Latimer, and Sir John Conyers (for the earl of Warwick, on the part of Lancaster); in which the former was defeated, 29th July, 1469.

12. The battle of Stamford (Losecoatfield), between Sir Robert Wells (for Warwick), and king Edward, in which the former was defeated; 1469.

13. The battle of Barnet, between king Edward and the earl of Warwick; in which the latter was defeated and slain (Easter Sunday); 14th April, 1471.

14. The

14. The battle of Tewksbury, between king Edward and queen Margaret; in which the latter was defeated and made prisoner: 3d May, 1471.

REMARKS.

THE END.



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